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ABSTRACT

The Girls' Education Activity (GEA) is a project of the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID's) Office of Women in Development (WID) in the Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade. This report summarizes the experiences and lessons learned from 12 project initiatives in the 3 participating countries (Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru) to increase overall school participation and completion rates of girls in primary (elementary) school. Noting that these projects reflect the diversity of major initiatives that GEA facilitated in partner countries, but not the totality of project activities, the report aims for a general development audience concerned with girls' education. The report is divided into five sections: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Five Case Studies"; (3) "Findings and Conclusions"; (4) "Current Status of Projects and Future Directions"; and (5) "Suggestions to Improve Future Project Designs." Lessons learned from GEA require certain cautions similar to those that would be found in a review of any development project: (1) initiatives can be replicated only with care in a new location, even when circumstances seem very similar; and (2) data were collected mostly through recollections/reflections of participants at a three day conference, and thus the effects of specific interventions on project outcomes cannot be demonstrated with any degree of scientific certainty. The report summarizes the experiences of GEA as it was implemented in promoting girls' education but does not answer more general questions of which approaches have the greatest effect of girls' participation or whether these approaches played more important roles initially than it seemed they played when reported on during the conference. (BT)

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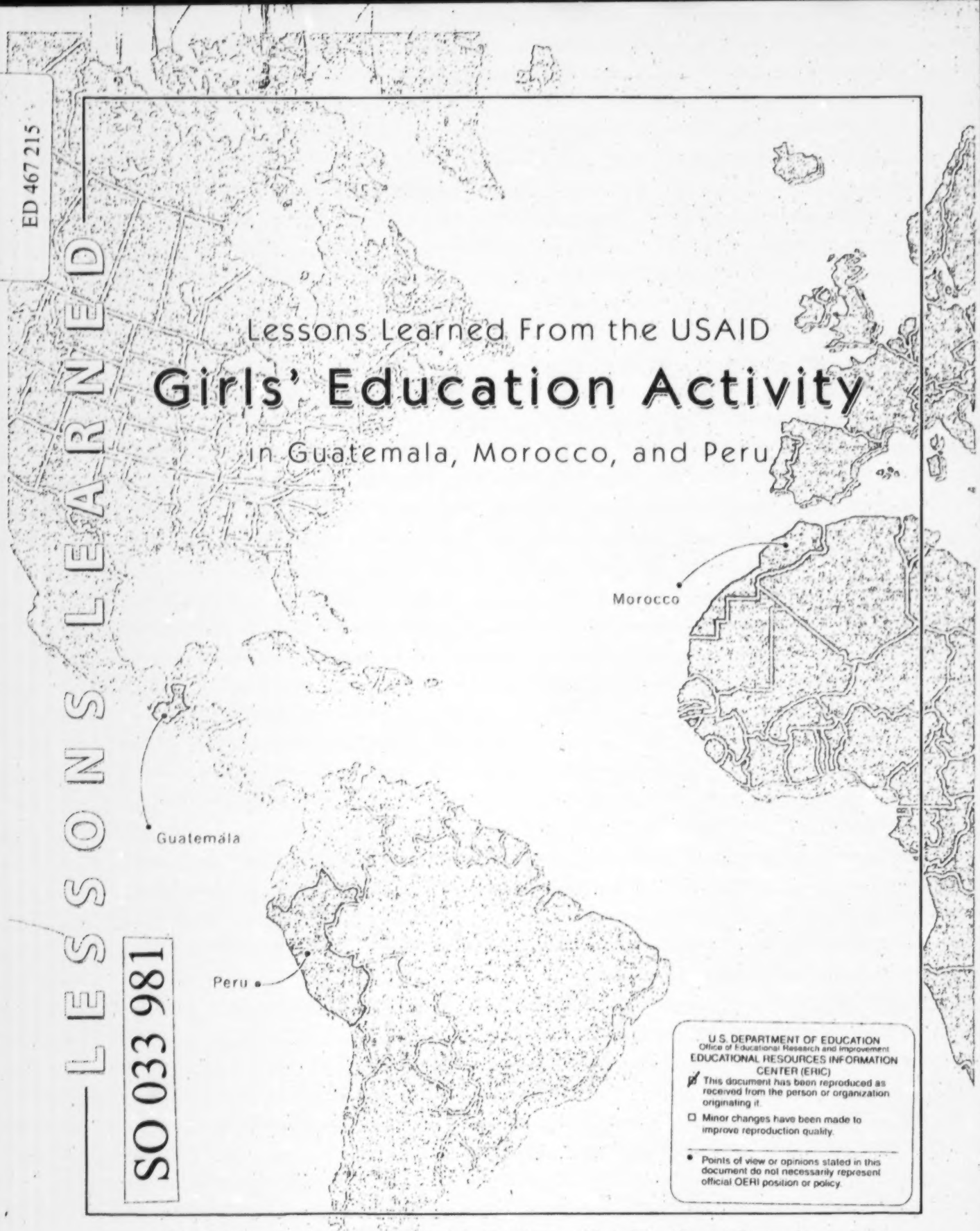
Lessons Learned From the USAID

Girls' Education Activity

in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru



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Lessons Learned From the USAID
Girls' Education Activity
in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru

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List of Acronyms

AEN	Asociación Eduquemos a la Niña, national girls' education network in Guatemala
AIR	American Institutes for Research, prime contractor for the Girls' Education Activity
Al Jisr	Forum National de L'Action Associative, also called Al Jisr (The Bridge), sponsor of business-education partnerships in Morocco
CARE	CARE, subcontractor in charge of Girls' Education Activity in Peru
CSSF	Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles, Girls' Education Support Committee that directs the scholarship program in Morocco
DIGEBI	Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural, Ministry of Education's office of bilingual and intercultural education office in Guatemala
EFA	Education for All, international initiative to ensure universal basic education
EIC	Equity in the Classroom, project operated by Creative Associates to help educators analyze and respond to equity issues in classrooms
FUNRURAL	Coffee growers' association in Guatemala
GEA	Girls' Education Activity, name of the project
IDF	Institutional Development Framework, method to assess strengths and issues within an organization and generate action plans for addressing issues
MNE	Ministry of National Education, name of governmental education entity in Morocco
MOE	Ministry of Education, name of governmental education entity in Guatemala and Peru

MSI	Management Systems International, subcontractor in charge of Girls' Education Activity in Morocco
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PLA	Participatory Learning Activity, an approach to working with communities and parents to identify and solve problems
TA	Technical assistance
USAID	United States Agency for International Development, sponsor of GEA
WL	World Learning, subcontractor in charge of Girls' Education Activity in Guatemala

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Introduction

The Girls' Education Activity (GEA) is a project of United States Agency for International Development's (USAID's) Office of Women in Development in the Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade. The activity aims at improving the participation and educational attainment of girls in countries where there are substantial discrepancies between girls and boys in these measures. Overall supervision for the project, which started in 1996 and ended in 2001, was provided by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) with partner subcontractors World Learning (WL), Management Systems International (MSI), and CARE. The following report summarizes the experiences and lessons learned from 12 project initiatives[1] in the three participating countries to increase the overall school participation and completion rates of girls in primary school. These projects reflect the diversity of major initiatives that GEA facilitated in partner countries, but do not reflect the totality of project activities in host countries. For a more comprehensive examination of overall project activities, see the companion report, *Description and Analysis of the USAID Girls' Education Activity in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru: Qualitative Report.*

This report is intended for a general development audience concerned with girls' education, including donors, potential funders, project designers, implementers, and evaluators. Specifically, these interested persons might be Ministry of Education officials and staff of both international and local assistance agencies. The intention is to produce a document that is simple although complete enough so that the lessons learned about girls' education from GEA can be adapted and applied to similar needs in other contexts. The report is divided into five sections:

1. An introduction
2. Five case studies
3. Findings and conclusions
4. Current status of projects and future directions
5. Suggestions to improve future project designs

[1] One was a classroom participation initiative, Equity in the Classroom, supervised by Creative Associates and included here as a comparison initiative for the Guatemalan GEA activity that prepared a teachers' manual. Both were reported at the Lessons Learned Conference in August 2001.

It goes without saying that the lessons learned from GEA require certain cautions similar to those that would be found in a review of any development project. First, initiatives—no matter how successful in one context—can be replicated only with care in a new location, even when circumstances seem very similar. The reason for selecting these particular GEA initiatives may in some cases have been pragmatic—the local availability of willing actors, institutions, and circumstances that seemed to offer an expedient way to produce results quickly. Before applying these "solutions" elsewhere, it is important to consider how they or alternatives might be affected by existing local personalities, institutions, and circumstances. It is always necessary to understand thoroughly the local conditions and factors that may affect the outcomes of initiatives. Once these are known, another essential requirement is involving local people in decisions about how an approach can best be adapted. Finally, GEA decisions about how to address the "girls' question" were cast in terms of the GEA framework, which is a specific approach to development assistance in which project staff are asked to support educational stakeholders within each country to improve girls' education and not to implement projects themselves.

A second caution is necessitated by the method of data collection for this report. Although this report is based in part on written summaries of activities, its evidence is taken mostly from a three-day conference hosted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) in August 2001. Participants were asked to reflect on their own experiences as project staff and partners in GEA activities and to share their knowledge, questions, and concerns for the next generation of girls' education projects. This forum provided an excellent opportunity to reflect on five years of GEA experiences, but these reflections do not presume to demonstrate the effects of specific interventions on project outcomes with any degree of scientific certainty.

This report is, consequently, limited in its aim. It summarizes the experiences of GEA as it was implemented in promoting girls' education but does not answer the more general questions of which approaches have the greatest effect on girls' participation or whether these approaches over time might not play a more important role than it may now seem. It is difficult in some cases to attribute either successes or failures to GEA because in certain respects it was a program that was intended to bring the relevant stakeholders together and mobilize their skills and organizations in support of girls' education. Consequently, GEA probably had an indirect role in stimulating other effective strategies in support of girls' education and, in some cases through technical assistance (TA), an enabling role in addressing other development needs.

GEA FRAMEWORK

The broad strategic objective of GEA was the mobilization of broad-based, informed constituencies to improve girls' education in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru. This objective was to be achieved through actions to strengthen the performance of public and private sector institutions, to improve knowledge of issues, to mobilize leadership, to broaden community participation, and to strengthen teacher performance. Specifically, support for these actions was to be provided by country coordinators who would bring together multiple sectors at national and sub-national levels and provide technical assistance and other help to involved groups (e.g., non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Ministries, businesses, and other private and public organizations). Country coordinators would be back-stopped by U.S.-based staff.

THE THREE COUNTRIES

Three countries participated long term in the GEA Project—Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru—with a variety of initiatives launched in each. AIR's partner contractors supported work in the following countries: World Learning (WL) in Guatemala, Management Systems International (MSI) in Morocco, and CARE in Peru.

Guatemala

At the start of its project in 1997, Guatemala had the highest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Central America, yet much of its wealth was concentrated in the hands of a minority of the Spanish-speaking population, leaving two-thirds of the population poor and 90 percent of the Mayan population below the poverty line. In the early 1990s, approximately half of females were literate compared to males. It was estimated that roughly 65 percent of females and 72 percent of males were attending primary school, and 18 percent and 19 percent, respectively, were attending secondary school. Mayan populations, especially girls, were considerably less represented in education programs. In 1996, peace accords were signed that ended 36 years of civil war in Guatemala. The peace program committed the government to, among other actions, investing in education and health services for women and children. Over the course of the GEA project, Guatemala undertook a media campaign to increase awareness of the problems of girls' education, conducted sensitizing meetings in communities to encourage girls' participation, and continued a scholarship program in selected schools where girls' dropout rates were highest. In addition, teachers helped develop a teaching manual aimed at creating more dynamic classroom learning.

Morocco

Morocco has among the lowest overall primary enrollment rates and largest gender gaps in the world. In the mid 1990s, overall female literacy stood at about 33 percent, with only 11 percent of rural females literate. At the primary level, 48 percent of females and 68 percent of males were enrolled, producing a gender gap of 20 percent. Whereas 89 percent of urban children enrolled, only 37 percent of rural children did so. Even though half the population of Morocco lives in rural areas, only about 10 percent of its expenditures in education are spent in rural areas. Although Morocco is considered a middle-income country, its development indicators more closely resemble those of low-income countries. To address these education issues, GEA encouraged the establishment of national networks of public and private sector organizations (Al Jisr and Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles) to support girls' education and the improvement of school infrastructure. Efforts were also undertaken on girls' behalf to organize local and regional networks to increase the involvement of communities, to support middle school boarding facilities for girls with scholarship programs, to raise awareness with social communication campaigns, to increase the funds for girls' education, and to strengthen organizational capacity through technical assistance.

Peru

Although Peru has one of the highest rates of primary school enrollment and completion in Latin America, there continue to be important differences in access, persistence, and schooling experience of certain populations of girls. For example, in Ayacucho, one of the poorest regions of Peru, roughly 75 percent of urban children finish sixth grade, whereas only 60 percent of rural boys and fewer than half of rural girls finish. GEA has supported several initiatives: creating a national network (Florecer) to address girls' participation issues, communicating messages through publications and radio and TV spots, and facilitating the enactment of a law setting girls' education as a priority. The GEA project, called the New Horizons for Girls' Education Project, was established in April 1998 to promote girls' completion of primary school, particularly in rural areas and among indigenous populations. The project worked at three levels by supporting (1) a national girls' education network, (2) regional networks, and (3) pilot projects in districts of the Department of Ayacucho with large non-Spanish speaking populations, high poverty, and large gender gaps.

Five Case Studies

The GEA case studies presented below consist of project activities broken down by five general approaches to issues of girls' education:

- Conferences and networks to create awareness and mobilize resources
- Social communications about girls' education
- Scholarships to keep girls in school
- Community partnerships to support girls' participation
- Classroom participation to make learning more attractive

Each case study has two or more similar initiatives that were undertaken in the participating countries. These several initiatives make it possible to compare similar approaches under the differing conditions of the three countries.

Descriptions of relevant country initiatives are summarized in boxes. The main body of the text is used for the discussion, which occurs in five parts:

- Background meant to set the context for discussion
- Brief descriptions of project activities in each country
- Highlights of the approaches
- Challenges affecting the achievement of results
- Summary of lessons learned from the approach

The information for the discussion comes from several sources, including GEA documents, research reports, and project descriptions. However, the main source of information was the discussions among participants at the GEA Conference on Girls' Education: Lessons Learned held August 27–29 in Washington, D.C.[2] Participants at the conference included project staff and partners from the

[2] Although much of the present document is based on discussion among the participants at the conference, this report should not be considered a complete "Proceedings." Notes of the conference are available in the AIR office.

three involved countries as well as representatives of contractors and USAID. This report attempts to capture their self-critical assessments of the successes and challenges of the different approaches. The lessons learned from GEA activities consequently range from the very specific to the very general. They are particularly valuable coming as they do from practitioners in the field.

CASE ONE: MOBILIZING SUPPORT FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION THROUGH CONFERENCES AND NETWORKS

This section reviews the following initiatives:[3]

1. Working with a national organization to create business-school partnerships in Morocco
2. Building local and national networks in support of girls' education in Peru
3. Proposing a law on rural girls' education and facilitating its enactment in Peru[4]

Background

Four conditions are thought to improve the chances that development efforts will be sustained: (1) local people need to feel ownership of and be committed to the goals of the effort; (2) activities need to be lodged in existing country institutions; (3) personnel of the institutions must have the skills and specialized knowledge to maintain the effort; and (4) adequate resources need to be available over a long enough period to support essential activities. Large-scale initiatives require a national commitment both to the goals and to the legitimizing structures (e.g., the finances, assigned responsibilities, and rules and procedures) needed to carry them out. At issue is achieving an effective balance between national capacity to coordinate large-scale efforts and local capacity to ensure results at the community level. Staff at all levels—national, regional, and local—need specialized training to implement multisectoral approaches. In the long term, change is easier to sustain when effective routines are established in the institutions expected to maintain the effort.

Public resources in developing countries are stretched to the limit. Consequently, it is difficult to find funding for special efforts like those required in girls' education. If these efforts are to be undertaken at all, public resources must often be supplemented through contributions from sectors not traditionally involved in education, such as business, the media, and other private sector entities. Mobiliz-

[3] The conference participants chose to focus on national networks and subsume conferences and the then-proposed law in Peru under this broader subject.

[4] The proposed law on rural girls' education was enacted by the Peruvian Congress on October 31, 2001, two months after the Lessons Learned conference.

ing them to contribute means convincing them that their own interests will be served. In addition, sustaining change means involving the government groups with responsibility for education because, ultimately, they control access to many of the long-term solutions to problems in girls' participation.

GEA was uniquely designed to bring all relevant sectors—public and private; governmental and nongovernmental; national, regional, and local—together to provide the financial and organizational support to make major advances in girls' education. The GEA model encouraged the convening of major conferences and the establishment of national, regional, and local networks to sensitize the public and influential stakeholders to the needs in girls' education.

Project Descriptions

1. Working with a national organization to create business-school partnerships to improve girls' education in Morocco

Need:	Identified in a 1999 conference
Issue:	Overly centralized responsibility for education and consequent neglect of local schools
Purpose:	To improve the infrastructure and quality of teaching in local schools identified by the Ministry of National Education (MNE) as disadvantaged
Partners:	Al Jisr (Business-Education Partnership Association), consisting of 16 banks and 1,600 members of the Confederation of Moroccan Businesses; assisted with TA by the U.S.-based National Association of Partners in Education
Approach:	Move some responsibility for educational development from MNE in Rabat to local support committees made up of private-sector members, school directors, parents, and teachers; develop action plans and raise funds to improve the infrastructure and teaching and learning in local schools; prepare training manuals on the basics of partnerships; hold annual meetings; establish policy for training, selecting, and certifying trainers to assist local groups in building partnerships; and establish a quality control system for partnership programs
Participants:	Local business leaders, school staff, and parents
Results:	Pilot projects in three primary schools to develop school libraries and improve school infrastructure and approved action plans for four additional schools. More than 50 business-school partnership committees have been formed and are working on their action plans.
Sustainability:	The formation of Al Jisr as an independent entity working to implement the business-school partnerships increases the likelihood that the initiative will continue and expand.

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Moroccan participants held national and regional conferences to bring together a variety of sectors with potential to support girls' education. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton gave the keynote address at a national conference, bringing significant media attention to the efforts. The private sector in Morocco created a network called the Business-Education Partnership Association (Al Jisr, or The Bridge) that comprised 16 banks and 1,600 members of the Confederation of Moroccan Businesses. The purpose was for the private sector to join forces with the public sector to improve education. The banks and private businesses agreed to sponsor rural schools identified as disadvantaged by the Ministry of National Education (MNE). The Association also sought to give more responsibility for educational development to local organizations and community committees composed of school directors, parents, and teachers. These local committees, organized by the partners, presented action plans for implementing improvements in the infrastructure, teaching practices, and systems for evaluating schools. In several pilot partnerships, private sector groups funded libraries, basketball courts, and after-school programs for parents to encourage them to become more involved in their local schools.

GEA/Morocco has provided technical assistance to Al Jisr to strengthen its capacity to implement these activities. Together they have developed a community participation model, a communication strategy, and a simple way to monitor and evaluate community committees. A U.S.-based organization, the National Association of Partners in Education, has shared its expertise in developing training materials and trainers, establishing a quality-control system for expanding partnership programs, and convening annual conferences on partnerships.

Although not discussed at the Lessons Learned conference, GEA/Guatemala also supported national conferences and an existing national network. This network, the Girls' Education Association, had a long history of participation in the dialogue about girls' schooling but was no longer growing or organizing strong advocacy activities. However, in 2000, GEA supported the Ministry of Education (MOE) in implementing the Third Girls' Education Forum and the Second National Seminar on Girls' Education. During the Seminar, participants agreed to form a new network, to be called the Network of Information and Coordination on Girls' Education. As the project is ending and this new network is beginning, the extent to which it will be sustainable remains to be seen.

2. Building local and national networks in support of girls' education in Peru (The New Horizons Project)

Need:	Participants attending a USAID conference on girls' education felt the need to create a national network in support of girls' education in Peru.
Issue:	Low rates of educational participation among specific groups of girls
Purpose:	To identify the specific problems of girls' education, to perform a leadership role in solving the problems, and to work with local networks to mobilize communities to improve girls' access and persistence in primary school
Partners:	A national network of prominent persons and representatives of women's organizations
Approach:	Encouraged the development of local networks of education activists at their first National Conference on Education of Rural Girls in 1999; prepared and supported a draft bill in Congress setting girls' education as a priority; and conducted national conferences to draw attention to problems and solutions of girls' education
Targets:	Rural girls, their parents, and communities; local institutions as they build their capacities to make their own approaches to communities
Result:	Greater awareness of girls' education issues; increased institutional capacity at national and local levels. Whether there is a direct impact on girls' participation was not systematically addressed.
Sustainability:	The initial New Horizons project will end in 2002, but the national network, Florecer, is developing a five-year action plan beyond that time. Institutional arrangements are in place that make it possible to sustain the activities as long as interest remains high.

Peru's involvement in GEA started later than the programs of Guatemala and Morocco. In 1998, a delegation of influential individuals attended a USAID conference on girls' education in Washington, D.C. On their return, the delegates decided to create a national network of prominent individuals from private and governmental sectors to support girls' education in Peru and later named it Florecer, "to bloom." This network created a definition of its vision and an action plan. The group has remained strong for more than three and a half years and is likely to continue when the project ends. Florecer holds monthly breakfast meetings to review progress and to initiate new activities. Working committees within the group assume responsibility for specific tasks and roles. The network has remained successful because of its carefully balanced membership of representatives from the private and public sectors with the power to make decisions and the resources to carry them out. Included also were technical people who could carry out the network's action plan.

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The network achieved a variety of results. It convened high-profile conferences, providing a forum for policy dialogue and eventually for legislative reform. It commissioned studies to examine barriers associated with girls' education in Peru and an action plan aimed at removing the obstacles. Florecer has taken a leadership role on girls' education by identifying the specific problems of girls' education, suggesting possible solutions, and, through national conferences such as the National Conference on Education of Rural Girls in 1999, encouraging the establishment of local networks to mobilize girls' participation in rural communities. The four geographic regions organizing local networks were encouraged to develop their own strategies for solving problems of girls' education. One network, in the Ayacucho region, was supported directly by Florecer and GEA. Its achievements included a publicity campaign to raise public awareness of girls' education issues, the creation of a model for working with local stakeholders, support for community school committees, provincial meetings to discuss issues and solutions to girls' education, and the development of a strategic plan with regional Ministry of Education (MOE) staff to address girls' education constraints.

3. Proposing a law on rural girls' education and facilitating its enactment in Peru

Need:	Recommendation from the Second National Conference on Girls' Education in Rural Areas (September 2000)
Issue:	Low enrollment and persistence of girls in education
Purpose:	To ensure universal enrollment of girls under 18 in quality education in conditions of equity
Agent:	Florecer
Approach:	Propose a new law that will develop a system of incentives for rural teachers to promote girls' education; establish monitoring committees to protect girls against sexual harassment and abuse; increase spending on rural schools to improve the standard; and establish a fund to publish materials on family, sexuality, and gender equity. The legislation is supposed to achieve these goals through three managerial strategies: creating a National Council of Girls' Education in Rural Areas to implement the agreements; ensuring the availability of resources through state, private, and international support; and disseminating information about the status of rural girls' educational attainment.
Targets:	Politicians, journalists, and educators who were invited to a press conference on the draft law
Result:	The law received extensive publicity, was introduced into Congress in two sessions, and was enacted into law.
Sustainability:	The law set girls' education as a priority for the future.

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Florecer has had as one of its priorities putting rural girls' education on the national agenda of Peru. With input from its members as well as from citizens in several provincial meetings, it drafted a bill that aimed at universal enrollment of girls in quality education under conditions of equity within five years. The bill includes incentives to encourage teachers to promote girls' enrollment in quality programs; monitoring to prevent sexual harassment and abuse of girls; increased expenditure on rural schools; and funds to produce literature on subjects that affect the treatment of girls, such as family, sexuality, and gender equity. Florecer lobbied on behalf of the bill, disseminated information about it to the media, and achieved victory through the law's enactment on October 31, 2001.

Peru's late entry into GEA means that many of its activities have not had time to fully develop. There is no question, however, that the GEA project has led to a greater awareness of the gaps in girls' education and an increased institutional capacity at national and local levels to work on these issues in the future. At present, the national network, Florecer, is developing a five-year plan to continue its efforts after the GEA project ends in 2002.

Highlights

As GEA intended, both Morocco and Peru made major strides in mobilizing influential national networks of public and private organizations. In so doing, they created potentially potent tools for future efforts to improve girls' participation. Through these networks, they brought an awareness of girls' issues to the public and created a new sense that the gender gap in education is a national issue, not just a governmental or sectoral one. Both countries also balanced efforts at the national level with local networks that reach into communities. Although in some cases these networks have not yet been fully exploited because they are so new, they have the potential for greatly increasing girls' participation in the future. A national network had already been established in Guatemala prior to the GEA project.

Major conferences also played a part in increasing awareness and creating better understanding of girls' issues in both countries while attracting media attention to the messages the team wanted to convey about girls' education. In both countries, conferences were used to organize important initiatives, such as establishing local networks devoted to the aims of girls' education, generating grassroots information to inform policy reform, and creating models that might be used in involving communities. Florecer's emphasis on drafting a national law setting girls' education as a national priority in Peru, though time-consuming, may in the end be a useful investment in future results now that it has become the framework for actions on behalf of girls in rural areas. The challenge for the activists in Peru is to ensure that the law fulfills its promise.

Both countries recruited for the core of their networks a balance of private and public sector individuals and organizations, including groups such as women's organizations with a commitment to improving the position of girls and women. This strategy was useful in that it leveraged and strengthened the efforts of groups that were the most likely to sustain such efforts over time. GEA provided them with help in project design, technical capacities, and self-assessment to put a base of skills at their disposal.

Challenges

Although the results from the conferences and networks held during this initial stage of GEA were mostly positive, some trade-offs were necessary. Conferences and special events succeeded in focusing media attention on girls' education, informed key stakeholders about the importance of the issue, and inspired groups to develop their own projects in support of girls' education. However, they were costly to convene and took large amounts of time to organize. Future girls' education projects may want to assess whether these heavy costs in time, effort, and resources are worthwhile when compared with other competing needs. Sometimes participants found it difficult to see the practical results of major national events after they were over. They reported difficulty in mobilizing participants to act after the conferences on their promising rhetoric in its public sessions.

The national network in Peru faced setbacks and delays when the government with whom it had been developed fell apart, and it became necessary to work with an entirely new set of officials. Peru's choice to focus on draft legislation similarly meant a strong commitment in time and effort and left little time for other activities.

For the most part, participants appreciated the technical assistance that was provided through GEA to strengthen their organizations and networks. However, some thought that at times it proved less useful than they had hoped. In some cases, the new skills were simply not used by the staff. In others, newly recruited staff had not received the training and those who had participated did not feel prepared enough to provide the training themselves. One participant suggested that outside consultants be paired with local staff to ensure that training addresses the specific need and that the training skills are transferred to the local staff. Sometimes locally developed expertise itself was lost. For example, in Guatemala, skills developed to administer scholarship programs were not used when the government assumed administration of the program. Although most of these issues can happen in any project, they still raise cautions about the use of technical assistance and the need to ensure that the transfer of important skills continues.

Summary of Lessons Learned About Mobilizing Support Through Conferences and Networks

1. Mobilizing networks and holding national conferences appear to be effective ways to raise public awareness of the issues of girls' education and the courses of action that may lead to improved participation; actual results, however, depend on the ability to convert ideas into actions.

2. A comprehensive strategy is needed to involve multiple sectors. Building constituencies takes time and needs to be done in stages: (a) involve key education stakeholders such as Ministries of Education from the beginning because reforming their sector is often the purpose of many of the efforts, (b) involve those generally supportive of education and girls' issues, and (c) reach out to nontraditional constituencies.

3. The key to successfully involving the relevant sectors and engaging their participation over time is to ask for support in a way that appeals to their self-interest. Use the incentives (e.g., social, moral, and public relations) that will make them willing to participate or contribute. Appeal to their civic duty.

4. Effecting changes in the school participation of girls requires attention both to the national policy level and to the organizations that can affect the local community level where impacts occur; one without the other dilutes the impact.

5. Networks seem to work best when they have a diverse membership selected strategically to involve relevant organizations and sectors. Sectors not usually involved in public education, such as businesses, can be mobilized to contribute meaningfully to the aims of increased participation and improved schools. Within these groups, it may be strategically better to involve individual small businesses than to approach the business sector as a whole (business associations, for example); the contributions can include funds, in-kind support, and organizational skills beyond those available only in the public sector. Of public sector organizations, it is important to involve the Ministries of Education, Health, and Social Affairs as well as the Ministries of Economics and Finance that are responsible for distributing public sector resources. Often missed is the agriculture sector with ties to rural areas; it can distribute resources and information and encourage local support for girls' education. The media sector needs to be a full partner to ensure extensive coverage.

6. Mobilizing at all levels requires sensitivity to the political context; girls' education may be on the agenda of one party and not another, or it may distract from a party's political focus. Knowing how to negotiate this context may help or hinder the achievement of results; turnover in government is often a major obstacle to rapid or sustained results.

7. Involving leaders at both the national and the local levels who can make decisions, set priorities, and get things done is critical; the participation of leaders who either have little time or are interested only in occupying the spotlight should be limited.

8. Involving groups with a commitment to advancing the position of girls and women is more likely to sustain interest in the objectives of girls' education over time.

9. Involving groups that may raise obstacles or play a negative role (e.g., religious groups in some countries) should be avoided.

10. Capitalizing on the special responsibilities, skills, and advantages of each group involved in networks gets the most out of the collaboration.

11. Establish clear procedures, routines, and responsibilities for network activities; adjust the procedures, responsibilities, and even membership if they are not productive.

12. Begin with realistic expectations about activities and number of beneficiaries until experience shows the best way to accomplish the goals.

13. Promoting girls' education requires both long- and short-term strategies. Legislation that sets a framework for girls' education is a useful long-term strategy for committing national energies and resources to girls' education; it needs to be balanced with short-term activities that have an immediate impact.

14. Two strategies useful in making policy dialogue more effective at the national level are (a) developing a common language for girls' education and (b) holding national conferences as a way to expand the number of those involved in the dialogue and to focus media attention on the importance of girls' education.

15. Collaboration works best when a core group sets priorities, prepares action plans, and provides leadership. This core needs to think strategically about assigning roles and responsibilities for implementing the plan. Others can be drawn in on an as-needed basis; if there are gaps in skills, people with the right skills can be recruited. This type of organization ensures that networks sustain their momentum instead of focusing too much energy in building internal cohesion.

16. Context is of prime importance when developing and sustaining national initiatives. Some considerations are recent and past history, political stability, the level of trust between groups in the society, and the influence accorded personages who may become advocates. Participants recommended focusing on broad social issues that transcend individual governments and working through legislative and regulatory reforms that new governments cannot easily undo.

17. The high cost of holding conferences and maintaining networks requires careful evaluation against other alternatives in accomplishing the objectives.

CASE TWO: CREATING AWARENESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION THROUGH PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS

This section reviews the following initiatives:

1. Preparing and distributing social communication materials in Guatemala
2. Increasing public awareness about the importance of girls' education through publications and radio spots in Peru

The third country, Morocco, took the opportunity of an annual Caftan Show to promote girls' education messages among influential segments of the society. This example is also described briefly in this section.

Background

Researchers have found in some countries that a common reason rural parents do not send their daughters to school is their lack of awareness of the importance of schooling for girls. At the same time, local educators and public officials may also be unaware of the differences in participation rates and schooling experiences of boys and girls. Even when aware of these issues, they may believe that the differences are a "natural" consequence of boys' and girls' roles in society beyond their ability to change. Since the launch of the Education for All (EFA) initiative, it has become clear that if all children are to be enrolled in school and encouraged to stay long enough to acquire the basic benefits of schooling, a special effort must be made to support the participation of girls, who represent the largest proportion of out-of-school children. Each country has its unique combination of factors that increase the likelihood of girls' nonparticipation. These factors need to be identified and addressed to ensure full participation. One way to encourage this outcome is through media campaigns that increase public awareness of the importance of girls' education and the need to overcome barriers to their participation.

Project Descriptions

1. Social communication materials in Guatemala

Need:	Determined by a study of community views of education conducted by a media consulting firm
Issue:	Reluctance of some parents to enroll and keep girls in school
Purpose:	To increase general awareness about the need for and problems associated with girls' education
Partner/Agent:	Gish Paz Associates (under contract) and Leo Burnet (privately, pro bono)
Approach:	From interviews, Gish Paz created posters and radio spots that were aired in local language and Spanish broadcasts; messages were embedded in vignettes appropriate to rural listeners and designed separately for mothers and fathers. (Burnet materials have not yet aired.)
Targets:	Messages were targeted at parents with children in school, parents with school-age children not enrolled, and girls about to leave school.
Result:	Not systematically measured, but focus groups were positive about pilots and agreed to enroll their daughters in school
Sustainability:	Gish Paz discussed materials with NGOs who may disseminate them in the future; to be effective, messages will need to be aired more frequently, meaning that new resources will have to be found to pay the costs.

In Guatemala, the problem of girls' nonparticipation was greatest in the rural areas where girls were important assets in agricultural labor. A study was undertaken in the rural area of Quiché to identify the constraints on and potential solutions to girls' participation issues. The results of the study led to an initiative to provide sensitizing materials to NGOs that would conduct workshops for communities in seven sites. The materials consisted of games, stories, radio programs, and posters showing the advantages of girls' education. At this initial stage, the aim was to test whether the materials would sensitize illiterate parents whose daughters remained out of school to the importance of educating girls. Community members met to choose posters they thought would communicate the messages most effectively. The discussions raised the consciousness of parents about these issues and helped develop their sense of ownership in the outcomes of the project.

Guatemala also used radio spots to communicate messages about girls' education. Radio was used because of its wide availability throughout the rural areas (TV was not so widely available) and because many populations were illiterate and could not read visual displays. The Quiché area was

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chosen because the people there speak a local Mayan language, K'iché, and often do not send their children to school because of their difficulty with Spanish.

The messages in Quiché were communicated in the local language and were targeted specifically in story vignettes to appeal to fathers and mothers separately. During the period of the GEA project, the activities were confined to this region. Further dissemination of the information to other areas will require materials developed in Spanish or other local languages. The Guatemala team hopes in the future to expand its distribution of materials to other regional departments and to distribute other already existing materials (targeted originally at Congress and the policy sector) through the networks that have been created by the GEA scholarship program.

2. Increasing public awareness about the importance of girls' education in Peru

Need:	Observations that parents were keeping girls at home suggested the need to increase public awareness about the education needs of rural girls.
Issue:	Lower participation rates of girls in rural areas and the poorer quality of girls' educational experiences
Purpose:	To increase the general awareness of problems associated with rural girls' education and to increase pressure on Congress and the Ministry of Education to improve girls' education
Partners:	For publications: Florecer (The National Girls' Education Network), GEA, and local networks; for media spots: local NGO and international media consulting firm
Approach:	Production and dissemination of brochures, analytical and review documents, and research reports; local radio and national television spots about girls' education. Spots emphasized national responsibility for girls' education, not comparisons between the participation of boys and girls.
Targets:	Local and national audiences. Publications were released during national conferences to focus discussion.
Results:	Extensive attention to girls' issues during scheduled conferences and frequent airing of spots between March and September 2000. Spots made Florecer well known and increased pressure to pass a law to support girls' education. However, political upheavals in the country at the time of the spots diminished their effects. Not enough time has passed to know whether they changed behavior.
Sustainability:	Limited time frame of spots reduced potential for long-term effects. Needs more long-term investment in communicating these messages.

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Peru's early media campaign focused on communicating the message that when girls complete primary school, the girls, their families, their communities, and the nation all benefit. For three months, the message was aired at reduced cost in radio broadcasts in Spanish and Quechua, the most widely spoken indigenous language, while the team talked with women's clubs and met with local NGOs and government staff about supporting girls' education. Awareness of the issues was also raised at the national level through two major conferences (see Case One).

A new opportunity opened up for Peru when a professional public relations firm, McCann Erikson, working with CARE, agreed to do pro bono work. Staff designed television campaign spots, some of which were dropped because they were too controversial. Three spots with a jingle were approved. A silent spot displayed this message: "You can read this but think of the little girl who can't read—she can't read prescriptions, instructions, etc." The spots were tested and found to appeal to different audiences. Upper-class males liked the aggressive ads, whereas the poorer groups and women did not. With the company's influence the spots were shown in prime time at a free or reduced rate. The intent was both to communicate the message and to give the girls' education network (Florecer) name recognition. In addition, the team developed brochures targeting businesses and the general public.

Peru summarized its media campaign strategy in five steps:

1. Have simple, reliable data ready.
2. Engage a media expert (public relations firm) that has knowledge and influence with local media.
3. Target audiences with specific messages and media mix.
4. Conduct careful pre-testing.
5. Identify sources of pro bono or reduced fee media mix.

In Morocco, GEA aimed to raise public awareness and mobilize sectors not directly involved in education, such as the media and the private sector. Because it had few resources to carry out major initiatives, GEA became partners with the Femmes du Maroc, which could provide a link to the private sector, and the Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (Girls' Education Support Committee, or CSSF), a group of NGOs that organized a girls' scholarship program. Femmes du Maroc was already producing a modern women's magazine and holding annual Caftan Shows that provided opportunities to communicate messages about girls' education to influential people from the private sector. CSSF was beginning its scholarship program and needed funding. These partners helped to increase awareness of the low enrollment rates of rural girls and the importance of raising funds for girls' scholarships.

The Moroccans admitted that their message was not well focused at first. They are now trying to improve their approach by gathering information about girls in remote areas as well as other information that will allow them to speak more authoritatively about girls' education in the future. They feel that they also need to develop better links with people in the field who can promote the messages in local areas.

Morocco, like many countries, does not have a philanthropic tradition in which private sector organizations feel compelled to provide funds to deserving causes. Consequently, by using the opportunity of a fashion show of caftans, the traditional dress of the country, the Moroccans felt that they were introducing their requests "in a gentle non-confrontational way" to groups with financial and political influence. The specific message was that by giving a sum of money ($750), a group could transform a girl's life through the benefits of education. King Mohammed VI sent one of his counselors to the opening ceremony of the Caftan Show to speak about the importance of girls' education. By doing so, the king, as primary religious leader of the country, added moral weight to the cause. The show produced a great deal of publicity at the national level, and businesses began to contribute money. The combination of Femme du Maroc's skills in the media and CSSF knowledge of the issues and ways to approach them made a strong partnership to support girls' education.

Highlights

All three approaches to media campaigns were careful to target individual groups with messages that would appeal to their particular interests. They were also able to take advantage of professional groups with media experience that helped them professionalize their efforts and gain access to free or reduced-fee broadcast time as an in-kind contribution. Although the implementers had the sense that they were not well enough organized at the start of the activity, this flexibility allowed them to take advantage of opportunities to communicate their messages more effectively when they became available. In all three cases, the teams built bridges between groups with a natural interest in advocating for girls.

Challenges

Perhaps the main challenge in the area of communication was the need to develop and maintain a long-term strategy for communicating awareness of girls' issues while still keeping the program flexible enough to leverage the skills and resources of other organizations. In all three countries, the teams took opportunistic advantage of media opportunities while failing to pursue a clear-cut, long-term strategy. Indeed, the participants became so involved in developing the tools and messages of communication that they sometimes lost sight of their ultimate objective—facilitating changes in behavior. They made little effort to assess whether the media campaigns were producing these results

or whether other approaches might have been more successful. Another challenge, not always met in some cases, was to distinguish messages intended to change school-going behavior from very different messages intended to increase contributions to girls' education.

Changing behavior often takes a long time to achieve and may require complex activities. It may involve several stages: (1) a person acquires new and convincing information about the benefits of the change; (2) the person's attitude is changed by the new information; and (3) the person's behavior changes as a result of the new attitudes. Media messages may be useful at all stages, but they need to be clear about what behavior is ultimately expected. In Guatemala and Peru, according to the participants, the GEA framework did not accord sufficient time (or funding) to mount a full media campaign or to assess the results of the efforts during the contract period. The need to solicit funding, as well as to conduct activities, takes considerable time and energy—in this case, more than were available. Guatemala had hoped to go much further in disseminating social marketing materials to local NGOs so that they could expand their efforts in a larger number of communities.

In Guatemala, the project staff felt that USAID should have been more closely involved early on in the development of the community materials and posters, which would have ameliorated problems that later arose. In addition, project staff felt that they had promised the communities the right to make the decision and that they could not defend taking that right away.

Finally, some GEA participants felt that there were difficult challenges in the campaigns themselves: The spots were broadcast over too short a duration or at a time when the target migrant families who enrolled throughout the year would miss them. The variability of access in rural areas to radio programs necessitated wide distribution of the programs, a fact that may ultimately lead to higher costs if all audiences are to be reached. Urban and rural areas had differences in priorities for the media messages, and the broadcast stations in each were unable to work together. In other words, the participants found that media campaigns are complex to organize, are costly in terms of resources, and require a long-term commitment to realize an objective like increased girls' enrollment in school.

Summary of Main Lessons Learned About Social Communication Campaigns

1. Participants should not lose sight of their long-term strategy even while maintaining enough flexibility to take advantage of opportunities that arise to communicate messages (like the Caftan Show); the strategy should carry more weight.
2. The message should be focused so that it is clear and succinct and is presented in a way that attracts attention and convinces the audience.

3. The communication strategy needs to tailor its messages to relevant groups, including internal audiences (educators and facilitators), sectoral partners, and the public (leaders, community committees, and parents). The messages need to be tailored to their different perceptions and to the political and social contexts in which they operate.
4. It should be clear how the audience should respond. Should they provide funds, send girls to school, pass legislation, or take another action?
5. The message should be backed up with accurate information about the topic and the targets so that the case can be made strongly. Data collection is costly. The need to understand must be balanced against the ongoing costs of communicating the message.
6. Developing relevant messages requires the involvement of local specialists who know local media, stakeholders, audiences, and methods.
7. It is important to engage cross-sectoral stakeholders and decision makers early to accommodate their "culture and perceptions" and avoid resistance later.
8. Personalities and other influential leaders (and high-profile events) may be useful in drawing attention to the message.
9. The impact of social communication activities needs to be monitored to see whether they are having the intended effect. Activities then need to be improved or abandoned as required. Attitude change is a positive sign, but if behavior does not change (e.g., girls' participation does not increase), it is not enough.
10. Messages need to be repeated often so that the public does not lose sight of their content. Infrequent or short airing often does not sufficiently communicate the message.
11. Media messages need to distinguish between those used for fundraising and those used for social change. The latter are more complex and take a longer time to have an impact.
12. Plans for the sustainability of the efforts need to be incorporated from the start. Distinguish between (a) sustaining a communication program and (b) achieving the intended outcomes (e.g., changing behavior, advocacy, or fundraising).
13. Involving media persons from the start can raise their consciousness and commitment and give them a sense of ownership in continuing the messages at reduced cost, over wider areas, and with more frequent airings.
14. Media professionals are needed who have experience in focusing messages and targeting audiences; they may have contacts that provide access to inexpensive or free airtime.

15. The expectations for the social changes that can be made through media campaigns need to be reasonable; they can provide new information and possibly change attitudes, but other interventions may be necessary to change behavior.

16. Costs of media campaigns need to be weighed against other perhaps more effective uses for resources. One important element is the cost of evaluating the impact of campaigns.

CASE THREE: ENCOURAGING GIRLS' RETENTION WITH SCHOLARSHIPS

This section reviews the following initiatives:

1. Scholarship program in Guatemala
2. Scholarship program in Morocco

Background

The impetus for scholarship assistance is usually the belief that a main reason girls do not go to school is economic. According to this reasoning, parents either lack the money for the direct costs of schooling or are unwilling to bear the lost opportunity costs of their labor. Scholarship amounts in school programs are usually small and are intended to compensate parents only for the out-of-pocket expenses of sending their daughters to school. They may be targeted at girls who are at a crucial point of schooling, such as entry to primary, near completion of primary, or transition to secondary. Scholarships usually achieve their purpose of attracting and keeping the girls who receive them in school for the intended periods. However, creating and maintaining a high-quality scholarship program present a variety of challenges: dealing with the cost and complexities of program administration, setting criteria and monitoring the eligibility of applicants, minimizing the possibility of diverting funds inappropriately, making funding decisions fairly and equitably, and ensuring that a scholarship program is a better investment than some other intervention on behalf of girls' education. These concerns notwithstanding, scholarship programs may be useful at specific times when extra incentives are needed to overcome specific intractable barriers.

Project Descriptions

1. Scholarship program in Guatemala	
Need:	Based on successes of limited programs in 1980s and 1994 (canceled when corruption was evident)
Issue:	Low girls' enrollment in rural areas
Purpose:	To increase poor, indigenous, rural girls' enrollment in rural areas
Partner/Agent:	Ministry of Education (MOE); after the first year, MOE funded the Asociación Eduquemos a la Niña (AEN) to administer and the coffee growers' private foundation (FUNRURAL) to execute the scholarship program; in 1996, a three-year contract was signed.
Approach:	FUNRURAL first paid those who had previously been promised money; it then selected as focus schools those with the largest dropout rates for girls; they organized parent school committees to decide which girls to include in the program.
Targets:	Rural girls with the greatest economic, logistic, and social needs; 36,000 in the first year and 47,500 total by the end of three years. The support was to be for one generation of girls over four years.
Result:	A GEA evaluation considered the program successful and efficiently managed. Girls had improved self-esteem, more opportunities for schooling were provided, and awareness was increased that girls' education was an effective strategy for improving the economic status of families.
Sustainability:	When the AEN/FUNRURAL-run scholarships ended in 2000, the MOE created two new programs that included urban children: one for at-risk girls (e.g., abandoned or orphaned) between 6 and 14, and one run by the MOE through community councils for boys and girls who were in danger of dropping out. There is concern, however, about whether the criteria set by the government for communities to administer the new scholarship programs are too high and whether any new funds will really be allocated.

Guatemalan scholarship funding began in the 1980s when USAID funded a number of experimental programs to increase girls' education. The Guatemalan government started its own program in 1994, which was intended to compensate parents for the lost labor of their daughters. This program was soon plagued by corruption. When it reopened in 1995, the government contracted the national girls' education network (Asociación Eduquemos a la Niña, or AEN) to administer a three-year program with the help of FUNRURAL (the coffee growers' association) to execute the program and arrange transfers of funds to local banks to pay parents. The recipients were rural girls in grades one through three with good attendance records. Parents could spend the money as they wished, since the funds were meant as compensation for the girls' lost labor. When the government changed in

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2000, the scholarship program was no longer administered through the business-related NGO and was expanded to include urban boys and girls. There are now fears that the program has lost its original purpose to encourage the participation of rural girls. When FUNRURAL lost the contract to execute the program, the result was a loss of business skills and contacts that had developed over the five years of the initiative. Government control is likely to mean less monitoring of process and results in the future.

An additional aim of the program in Guatemala was to give parents a stake in the school. Parents were expected to take on the responsibility of making sure that teachers attended school every day instead of only during the middle of the week as had become a common practice of commuting teachers.

2. Scholarship program in Morocco

Need:	Assumed need because of low enrollments and poor persistence
Issue:	High girls' dropout in rural areas
Purpose:	To increase rural girls' retention rates to the end of primary school and to encourage continuation on to middle school; to promote urban-rural solidarity
Partner/Agent:	Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF, Girls' Education Support Committee), an independent, informal group of representatives from eight Moroccan NGOs. GEA helped design the administration of the scholarships and funded an administrator for the first few years.
Approach:	CSSF raised enough money from individuals, businesses, and international groups to support 116 girls over three years; it piloted the program in 10 sites working with local NGOs, community-based organizations, and Parent-Teacher Associations that identified girls, raised awareness, and worked with families who boarded girls so that they could continue their educations. With the MNE, the CSSF sponsored a trip of recipients to Rabat and supported a conference for journalists to disseminate information about the program. NGOs found that girls needed academic help before continuing in town schools. Now NGOs supply tutoring aid.
Targets:	Girls must be graduates of grade six, and their parents must be unable to afford to send them to middle school.
Results:	Results are not yet available, but the government's Office of Potable Water will conduct a yearly evaluation of the results to provide to the donors.
Sustainability:	Two local NGOs are expanding the program with local funds; GEA has found money to continue to manage the program for one more year.

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In Morocco, the Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF), an association of national and local NGOs, launched a three-year scholarship program for middle school girls in 1999. The scholarship was paid to families who would lodge girls from distant villages who wanted to attend middle school. The belief was that providing an opportunity for girls to continue their schooling at the middle school level would also encourage girls to enroll in and continue to the end of primary school. The funding was largely provided by private sector businesses and banks, with some funding from individuals. Girls were selected on the basis of two main criteria: they had to be graduates of grade six and their parents had to be unable to afford to send them to middle school. In some cases, parents were asked to select a family in a town with a school where they would feel comfortable sending their daughter. The host family received $260 a year for boarding the girl. In other cases, a local NGO sponsored a "foyer," or group home, for a number of girls.[5] The project organized field trips once a year to the capital and provided the girls with tutoring and civic and art training. An added advantage of the program was that local girls might someday become teachers and role models for other girls in their villages when they returned home.

The program in Morocco was implemented in ten pilot, or demonstration, sites. The intent was to demonstrate that barriers to girls' education were more logistical and economic than cultural (as many in the country believed). The project showed that parents were willing to send their daughters to primary school if they believed that the girls could continue to middle school. If this possibility did not exist, then parents were reluctant to send their daughters to a primary program from which they emerged neither educated nor skilled in the housework they would otherwise have learned at home. In general, education is valued in Morocco, and a new incentive to parents is the growing belief that education makes a girl more marketable as a marriage partner.

The advantage of having private associations run the scholarship program in Morocco rather than the government has been the emphasis not just on school courses but also on the needs of individuals. Besides the additional training the association has provided, it has kept a careful eye on the needs of the girls. When it became apparent, for example, that some of the girls were not academically prepared for the more urbanized middle schools, the association organized courses to tutor them. An underlying aim of the program is to reduce the strong urban-rural tensions that exist in Morocco and create a solidarity between the two. The scholarship fund, with its mainly urban resources directed to the needs of rural girls, is one way of expressing this solidarity.

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[5] Most communities preferred group homes so that girls could concentrate on their studies. A complaint sometimes registered by parents and girls was that host families treated girls as "helpers" and expected them to work for the family.

Highlights

Both programs were careful about focusing their scholarship funds where they were most needed—Guatemala by selecting rural girls in the first years of primary school and Morocco by focusing on the boarding means needed for girls to continue to middle school. In Morocco there were unexpected benefits: some girls who graduated from middle school set up literacy classes for other girls, and many said that they experienced greater self-respect and status in their villages as educated women. The Moroccan project advanced the knowledge about barriers to girls' education by showing that practical solutions can help traditional communities adapt to new situations. Although some families still do not allow their daughters to go to distant middle schools, many of these parents resist because they fear for the safety of their daughters rather than oppose girls' education in general.

Overall, Morocco used its scholarship money to advance multiple aims and thus made its limited resources go further than just the immediate activity of providing scholarships. The program helped individual girls realize educational goals, and the girls in turn created role models for other villagers by showing how educated girls might play an economic role after graduation. It demonstrated that despite their travels to far cities, educated girls could remain respectable in their behavior. At the same time, the project provided new insights into effective means for solving problems. The CSSF, for example, joined forces with a tax-exempt organization through which it could channel scholarship money, thus providing an incentive for donors who received a tax break with their contribution.

Because of the strong networks of people dedicated to girls' education and because of funding that comes through the private sector, there is hope that the scholarship initiatives can continue in both countries once current obstacles are overcome. Guatemala showed that a multisectoral partnership between NGOs and the government can effectively implement such programs.

Challenges

The main challenge for Guatemala has been disruptions from the civil conflict that has destroyed much of the social fabric and left the country fragmented. These events make fundraising difficult. Over the years, scholarship programs have been plagued by the diversion of funds from those most needing financial assistance (e.g., monies going to families who knew the person distributing funds rather than families with greater need). GEA participants believe that they might have prevented this problem if they had set up a better monitoring structure from the start to increase the accountability of organizations that administer and execute the funds and to improve the information about the effects of scholarships on program participants.

Another challenge in Guatemala has been to make those who can contribute feel responsible for groups who are educationally disadvantaged. The widespread feeling in the country is that the government should be responsible for education, not private people or organizations. Guatemala's fragmented society, with four ethnic groups and 28 languages, means that each community has to be approached differently. Indigenous people are often not integrated into the market economy. Consequently, they feel that time spent in schooling takes away from time spent in subsistence activities. They often see no value in children knowing how to read and write local languages. At the same time, many do not want girls to learn Spanish out of fear that they may learn "modern" ways, leave the community, or become disrespectful of their elders.

In Guatemala, enlisting the aid of persons in power is not as effective as it is in Morocco, where the king, as religious leader, can advocate authoritatively in support of girls' education. Similarly, people in Guatemala reacted negatively to the fact that girls were the only recipients of scholarships; the program, therefore, eventually expanded to include boys.

The Moroccan challenge comes in the difficulty of expanding the scholarship program. The small number of part-time volunteers is stretched by the continual demands of fundraising and the need to link up with groups in remote rural areas to expand the program further. As one volunteer noted, financial contributions are discrete events, and donors must be pursued continuously or they do not give. Time-bound events, such as the Caftan Show, periodically consume much of the team's time. Both countries face the major challenges of taking the time and collecting the data that would allow reflection about whether these or other approaches might lead more effectively to the ultimate goals of increasing girls' participation. Scholarship programs are costly and cannot be implemented as a single solution to problems that plague girls' schooling. Parents ultimately have to be convinced that education is so valuable for their daughters that they are willing to bear the financial burdens and overcome the obstacles that confront them. The government needs to be convinced that girls' education is so valuable that it should support initiatives to increase girls' enrollment and completion. In Morocco and Guatemala, since scholarships may not reach enough of the target groups needing them, future initiatives might consider alternative forms of delivery (e.g., roving teachers, self-instruction, home schooling in groups, and more self-evident materials) that can reach more individuals. The Moroccans believe that the government should be responsible for building boarding schools near every middle school, but these are costly and are not likely to be a solution in the near future. In the meantime, those associated with GEA efforts are hoping to demonstrate other practical solutions.

Summary of Lessons Learned From Classroom Participation Activities

1. The main obstacles to the participation of many girls in Morocco appear to have been less cultural and more economic (direct and indirect costs) and structural (the poor accessibility and inferior quality of local programs).
2. Scholarship programs should be considered short-term enabling mechanisms to jump-start girls' participation where necessary; they need to be combined with easier access to schooling opportunities where access is a problem (accessible opportunities at higher stages of education also motivate children to enter and stay in primary school).
3. It is important to identify and understand the barriers that need to be removed (as in the case of Morocco) and to think strategically about how best to remove them with scholarship money or other means. Indirect means (e.g., paying boarding expenses) may sometimes be more cost-effective than direct payments to parents.
4. Clear, transparent, and easily observable criteria need to be set for selecting recipients of scholarships. Local NGOs and community groups can be effective at selecting appropriate recipients and supporting them while they are completing their programs.
5. Cost-effective administrative and monitoring systems are needed to increase accountability and lower the costs of such programs.
6. Scholarship programs need to be reviewed frequently to determine whether they are better than alternative programs at achieving the same results.
7. Mechanisms such as tax breaks for organizations that contribute to non-profit groups are an incentive to the private sector to contribute to girls' education.
8. Scholarships can create a backlash of opinion toward the beneficiaries from those who believe that they should have received the assistance.
9. Scholarship programs may need to be supplemented with other programs to have the greatest impact. For example, boarding facilities and remedial or tutorial help for rural girls may be needed for them to take full advantage of education programs.
10. Scholarships can be an incentive even for those not directly receiving the funds; parents may enroll or keep girls in school because they hope to receive the funds later or because they begin to see more value in education from the example of graduates.
11. When scholarships are well targeted to rural girls, they bring female role models to villages and help change attitudes about girls' education.

12. Scholarship programs are costly and consequently difficult to bring to a scale in which all those who need the support receive it. Their impact is likely to be more demonstrative than real in terms of quantitative indicators.

CASE FOUR: SUPPORTING GIRLS' EDUCATION THROUGH COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

This section includes the following initiatives:

1. Preparing community sensitizing materials in Guatemala
2. Building organizational capacity to improve girls' education in Morocco
3. Fostering local initiatives to support girls' education in Peru

Background

Involving communities in solving their own problems has become a keystone of development practice. When carried out carefully, allowing communities to become truly involved in decisions about their own development, community participation can be a force for substantial change. The challenges of community participation in the past have been numerous: (1) the objectives for and ways of approaching community participation have not been well thought out in project design; (2) resources have been heavily committed to community participation at the beginning of projects but ceased later on under the often mistaken assumption that communities will continue to support education at high levels on their own; (3) developers often come to the community with preplanned solutions and expectations for activities that leave little space for local decision making; and (4) expectations for what community participation can accomplish are often inflated.

Development models that include a community participation component have shown limited results in terms of education indicators after an initial period of enthusiastic support. These models usually are more costly, only peripherally improve quality (through having parents monitor teacher and student attendance and ensuring the provision of basic instructional materials), rarely add more than limited resources, and are difficult to sustain. The one area where community participation has been most effective is in increasing the participation of under-enrolled groups such as girls, usually because the community can create the conditions and restructure the norms that encourage parents to send their children to school. For this reason, creating networks of local organizations that can sensitize and involve communities in encouraging the participation of girls has been a worthwhile activity for GEA.

Project Descriptions

1. Preparing community sensitizing materials in Guatemala

Need:	Determined by a situational analysis
Issue:	Reluctance of some parents to send and keep girls in school
Purpose:	To increase girls' participation in rural areas
Partner/Agent:	GEA team with host schools
Approach:	Sensitizing workshops to convince communities that girls' education improves the quality of community life and keeps girls from migrating to towns; GEA team has documented activities in a manual that can be provided to interested NGOs.
Participants:	Local leaders, teachers, and parents
Result:	Support for workshops has increased; anecdotal evidence suggests increased support for girls' education; increased enrollment and persistence in workshop communities have been reported; specific actions build middle schools and help migrant family children stay in school; local women have been involved in meetings and activities.
Sustainability:	Sensitizing materials provide a low-cost tool for capturing the experiences of the initiative to sustain similar efforts if interest remains high.

Guatemala set as a priority increasing the support for girls' education in rural areas. The issue was the reluctance of Mayan parents to send girls to school and allow them to complete primary school. GEA partnered with host schools to conduct workshops to convince community members that educating girls would improve the quality of community life and keep girls from migrating to towns. The team documented the sensitizing activities in a manual meant for interested NGOs that would be in a position to expand the efforts further. As a result of the workshops, several communities have taken independent initiatives to encourage girls' participation, such as increasing the spaces available for girls in middle schools. Attendance and enrollment have also increased.

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2. Building organizational capacity to improve girls' education in Morocco

Need:	Groups that had been coordinating largely grassroots efforts for girls' education expressed the need to improve their institutional capacities.
Issue:	The low level of educational attainment of rural girls
Purpose:	To build the capacity of Moroccan organizations to increase awareness of the importance of girls' education and work with communities to find meaningful solutions to the obstacles of girls' participation
Partner/Agent:	GEA with Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc, Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF), Forum National de L'Action Associative (Al Jisr)
Approach:	The team developed relationships with local organizations that had contacts in rural areas and conducted Participatory Learning Activity (PLA) training to help organizations work effectively with communities and parents to identify and solve problems associated with girls' education. Participants learned how to prepare action plans that applied to the educational activities of girls in their communities. Participants from 33 organizations were also trained in the use of the Institutional Development Framework (IDF) tool; they were asked questions, and from the answers, the weaknesses and strengths of the organization were analyzed by a facilitator. Together they set reasonable goals according to the group priorities for improvements they wished to make in the future.
Targets:	Communities and local organizations working with communities
Result:	The ideas generated and networks formed during organizational meetings became part of the National Education Reform Charter developed by the National Education Reform Charter Commission in 2000. Organizations trained their own staff to use PLA methods to develop new projects and assess old ones. IDF promoted in-depth reflection and self-analysis in participating associations, established a process to monitor institutional progress, and helped participants reach agreements about development priorities.
Sustainability:	Institutional capacity has been developed that makes it possible to continue to organize and coordinate support for girls' education in the future as long as the interest of the local organizations continues.

In Morocco, groups that had been coordinating largely grassroots efforts for girls' education expressed the need to improve their institutional capacities. A team comprising GEA, the Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF), and the Forum National de L'Action Associative (Al Jisr) began working with the local organizations to find meaningful solutions to the obstacles of girls' participation. First, they conducted Participatory Learning Activity training to help organizations work effectively with communities and help parents identify and solve local problems associated with

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girls' education. Participants learned how to prepare action plans that applied to their own girls' education activities. Participants from 33 associations were also trained in the use of an Institutional Development Framework tool. They answered questions on a form and then scored themselves on the state of their organizations. A facilitator helped them analyze the weaknesses and strengths of their organizations and set reasonable goals for improvements.

3. Fostering local initiatives to support girls' education in Peru

Need:	From a series of studies, including a situational analysis, a rapid rural appraisal, and a baseline study of communities, and dialogues with community members in Ayacucho, needs were identified in Huanta and Tambo districts because of large populations of non-Spanish speakers, comparatively low educational attainment of women, and high poverty.
Issue:	The low educational participation rates of poor non-Spanish-speaking groups of girls
Purpose:	To increase girls' participation by improving their skills so that they are less likely to drop out
Partner/Agent:	GEA, the national network, and local communities (19 pilot communities); local networks in four departments, including one in Ayacucho that started with 25 NGO and public-sector organizations and increased to 34. (Three other departments set up their own independent, self-sustaining local networks.)
Approach:	Through professional workshops of the Bilingual and Intercultural Education activity in the district of Huanta, GEA and partners encouraged teachers to develop children's oral and written communication skills in the local language and Spanish and, later, to teach first in the local language and then to gradually introduce Spanish. In the district of Tambo, similar workshops were held to improve girls' self-esteem and defense mechanisms; later both programs were implemented in all 19 sites. Other community programs included adult literacy, parents' schools, the promotion of girls' education and the ways parents can support them, and the establishment of community education promoters and education committees to monitor student and teacher attendance. The local networks also assisted communities to develop local action plans.
Targets:	Rural non-Spanish-speaking children, particularly girls, their parents and communities, and local institutions
Result:	An evaluation showed that parents and pupils were participating actively in preparing bilingual-intercultural texts and improving their skills in both languages. Boys and girls alike benefit from the program; girls' attendance increased by 10 percent. The self-esteem workshops changed boys' and girls' attitudes about themselves

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and made it easier for them to communicate in classrooms. Teachers also reported that they had changed some of their own practices in the classroom and in dealings with their families.

Sustainability: The Bilingual activity has the capacity to include these sensitizing topics in its routine training.

In Peru, before 1998, little was known about the problems associated with the education of rural girls. GEA and the national network, Florecer, therefore started by organizing a conference to encourage the formation of networks of local NGOs (see Case One) to work on girls' education issues. Three departments set up their own self-sustaining networks. GEA and Florecer worked directly with the fourth, a network of 25, later 34, NGOs and public sector organizations in the Department of Ayacucho. The team used a number of studies to identify as a priority group the girls from non-Spanish-speaking poor communities, who were believed to be dropping out because of their difficulties with the national language, their lack of self-esteem, and traditional cultural barriers to girls' education. The approach increased girls' participation by improving their academic skills and confidence. The team used the venue of the workshops of the Bilingual and Intercultural Education activity to train teachers in how to develop children's oral and written communication skills in the local language and in Spanish and, later, to encourage them to teach children in local languages before introducing Spanish. In other locations, workshops were held to improve girls' self-esteem and defense mechanisms. Both programs were later implemented in all 19 sites.

The NGOs also carried out other community programs intended to encourage parents to become more involved in their local schools. They helped establish community education promoters and education committees to monitor student and teacher attendance and to develop local action plans to address girls' participation.

Highlights

Local initiatives have demonstrated the willingness of communities and networks of local NGOs to take up issues of girls' education once they have the tools to do so and are made aware of the importance of girls' education. Reflection on and discussion of the issues have helped communities identify their specific problems and possible solutions. In some cases, active local leaders were a catalyst for solving problems in ways that have surpassed the expectations of the GEA teams.

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The Moroccan team has been particularly thoughtful about identifying the means to overcome local barriers to girls' participation, realizing that the barriers are not simply traditional and cultural as many had thought, but are also economic and logistical. The team documented most of their experiences with community participation in models or training manuals, which makes it convenient to transfer them to other groups wishing to address similar issues. The implementers shaped the activities to fit the needs of community stakeholders by involving them in determining meeting agendas, using local languages and images, addressing local needs, and fitting local schedules.

Challenges

The main challenge in this activity is that GEA and the national networks rely largely on local initiatives to change attitudes and behavior regarding girls' education. The project does not have the resources to do more than develop and demonstrate generic models for working with a small number of communities. Even with the best of efforts, each community has its own set of local reasons for parents to not yet send their daughters to school (i.e., the lack of local employment for girls, the important role that girls play in household labor, and the fact that girls with primary education are neither educated enough for professional jobs nor ready to engage in manual labor). These resistant parents have not been reached in many places. Although the workshops have been warmly welcomed in some areas, in others there have been difficulties, such as finding a time that fits conveniently with local agricultural schedules or overcoming local people's suspicions of the outsiders involved.

Summary of Main Lessons Learned About Community Participation

1. Communities can play a major role in encouraging the participation of girls in education even when few or no additional funds are available to support local projects (e.g., improving the infrastructure or expanding the space available in schools).
2. A purposeful strategy for reaching out to communities and a clear definition of the aim for involving them are necessary. Communities need to develop action plans for solving their own problems, and then follow-up is needed to ensure results. Some conference participants argued that it should be up to individual communities and NGOs to take responsibility for project initiatives (i.e., follow-up should not be coercive) while allowing other communities to pursue agendas that they felt were more important.
3. Communities need to be approached in an open fashion with many questions; implementers should expect to learn from them over time and adjust the program to their way of life—from time schedules to styles of communication.

4. Sometimes it is enough for local people to discuss their problems and identify solutions to stimulate them to act. This demonstrates (once again) the power of reflection and self-questioning in mobilizing people to solve their own problems.

5. Strong community leaders can be a great stimulus for committing local resources to and increasing participation in support of girls' education; such leaders can make the difference between success and failure in achieving project objectives.

6. Using local indigenous people to run sensitizing workshops makes it easier for the participants to build a relationship of trust and express themselves freely; this is the best way to raise consciousness in a culturally respectful way.

7. Members of the community need to be trained as trainers so that they can give sensitizing workshops to others and apply the content in their own communities; this provides energy to the project and creates role models.

8. NGOs need to fit girls' education within their own agendas to increase the likelihood of expanded coverage and sustainability; this encourages them to make girls' issues a part of their already funded activities as well as those connected with GEA and other programs.

9. The involvement of NGOs and communities in the process of social change makes them feel that the transformations are their own and helps them realize their own capacities to evolve, to adapt, to expand, and, most important, to effect improvements in their own lives.

10. When local networks are made to feel part of a national mission, they are more likely to work harder to accomplish the goals on a local level.

11. Each community and region may need individualized approaches that satisfy the different characteristics and needs of local people; models for involving communities are helpful, but they too need to be seen as requiring adaptation.

12. Manuals and other distillations of project experience (e.g., models, workshop documents, and lessons-learned reports) provide a means of communicating effective ways to approach communities; they make it easier to expand the efforts over time and space.

13. A fully coordinated program to involve communities and NGOs in girls' education requires a broadly funded agenda promoted by governments and assisted by the donor community.

14. Technical assistance alone is not enough to stimulate NGOs to act effectively. It needs follow-up to ensure that actions are taken to produce results. International consultants can start a process, but local people must implement it.

15. Once parents are convinced of the value of education for their daughters and have dealt with the economic constraints, they will send the girls on their own. The suppliers of education need to be sure that girls can access safe, quality programs; as girls succeed in school, both they and their parents are motivated to keep them there.

CASE FIVE: MAKING CLASSROOMS MORE ATTRACTIVE AND EQUITABLE

This section reviews the following initiatives:

1. Preparing a Teaching Suggestions manual ("Sugerencias") to improve classroom learning in Guatemala
2. Implementing the Equity in the Classroom (EIC) project in Peru

Background

In many countries, young children and their families find schooling so unpleasant or unsafe that these children drop out before acquiring basic academic skills. Facilities may be poor; instructional materials may be limited, of poor quality, or not designed for the particular age level of the children; the methods of teaching may be rote and uninteresting; and children may have few incentives to learn. Research shows that children learn by various methods and that the techniques of rote memorization and direct questioning may provide only a limited type of learning. It is generally believed that interactive approaches help children learn more quickly and help them enjoy learning more.

Project Descriptions

1. Preparing a Teaching Suggestions manual ("Sugerencias") in Guatemala

Need:	Determined by a situational analysis
Issue:	To improve girls' chances of persisting in school
Purpose:	To make overall classroom teaching more effective, and to sensitize teachers to the need for making schooling more attractive to girls
Partners:	Bilingual Education Office (DIGEBI) in El Quiché
Approach:	Initial workshop demonstrating interactive methods and a manual of sample activities, followed by an expanded group of participants to revise and adapt the manual
Participants:	DIGEBI staff, other interested teachers, and MOE inspectors
Result:	Teachers and inspectors report more active learning and a higher level of classroom comfort for girls.
Sustainability:	Inspectors and teachers who helped develop the manual expressed willingness to conduct further training; there is presently MOE demand for manuals; remaining issues involve the costs of materials and training.

In Guatemala, GEA supported the development of a Teaching Suggestions ("Sugerencias") manual to help teachers use more interactive and interesting methods of teaching. A consultant designed the initial manual, and over a two-year period, local teachers refined the activities. In retrospect, however, Guatemalan implementers believe that teacher participants should have been involved in developing the manuals from the start. For the final draft of the manual, teachers participated in a series of workshops to refine the techniques to suit the developmental needs of children in their classes. To maintain the consistency that the authors felt was important, the activities were all written to conform to a single format or series of steps—title, introductory questions, resources needed, instructions, the activity itself, and an assessment of student feelings about the activity. The purpose was to empower students to take greater control of their own learning. After a draft manual was prepared, 50 teachers were trained to use it; of these, 17 became trainers to teach others. New trainers continue to be trained, and the manuals are now being prepared for use at the national level in public schools. Overall, those involved in the project believe that teachers, NGO staff, and departmental staff all became more gender sensitive as a result of working on and with these manuals.

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2. Initiating the Equity in the Classroom (EIC) project in Peru	
Need:	Educators felt the need to increase participation of students in classroom.
Issue:	The low enrollments and high dropout of girls
Purpose:	To sensitize teachers to the need for making schooling more attractive to children
Partners:	Regional training institutions
Approach:	In workshops, participants learn how to create an action plan for implementing learning strategies they acquire in training; participants receive detailed training manuals and are taught to take responsibility for their own training; follow-up workshops let them reflect on their experiences and share them with others; these trained individuals are expected to hold workshops to teach the methods to others.
Participants:	Teachers, teacher trainers, and ultimately students
Result:	A higher comfort level for girls in school
Sustainability:	Materials help provide continuity in the content of the training; participants are asked to replicate the workshops with others.

In Peru, the Equity in the Classroom (EIC) project supervised by Creative Associates pursued a similar objective of trying to make the schooling program more interactive and attractive to encourage girls to stay in school. It started with a demonstration, or pilot, project to work out training methods to achieve the objectives. The participants learned interactive teaching strategies by using manuals provided to them. In workshop settings, they created an action plan for implementing the learning strategies in their own classrooms. The intent was for them to take responsibility for their own training and, ultimately, for more interactive teaching in their classrooms. After trying out these methods, teachers attended follow-on workshops to let them reflect on their experiences and share them with others. The workshop participants were asked to serve as trainers to teach the methods to others.

Highlights

Both the Guatemalan Teaching Suggestions manual and the EIC workshops demonstrated the importance of involving participants in creating solutions to their own problems. The enthusiasm the teachers exhibited after being actively involved in training and materials development and the improvements they made in the often neglected processes of learning are high points of these activities. In the end, enthusiastic Guatemalan teachers were instrumental in convincing the Ministry of Education to adopt the materials regionally and nationally. Both approaches also sought to shift the re-

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sponsibility for learning to children and local teachers. They provide an example of how initiatives that make schooling more attractive to girls can also have a positive impact on boys' learning.

Challenges

The main challenges for both projects are twofold: to ensure that the benefits of the programs are real and to ensure that they reach a larger audience of school children. Although observers noted that the methods made learning more fun for children—which may be enough, given the objective of encouraging girls to continue—the projects have yet to show that these methods increase the participation of girls or their learning, an implicit purpose of keeping them longer in school. These underlying assumptions of the activities remain untested and may need more time before results can be conclusive.

The challenge of expansion was not completely resolved by the end of either project, at least partly because of the short time frame of GEA and the costs involved. The Guatemalan government, for example, does not provide materials to teachers; therefore, the cost element becomes a major obstacle to expansion in that country. GEA paid for the initial drafts of the new manual, USAID is funding the production of 10,000 copies, and implementers believe that they will be able to work out an arrangement with the government to use the manuals in public schools. The longer-term use of the materials, however, still depends on cost considerations.

In Peru, the involved educators faced resistance to the training programs—how they should be run and what their content should be—especially at the regional level. Where they were successful in forming teams representing different institutions in each area, they were able to conduct their work more effectively than in locations where this was not possible. In retrospect, they feel that it was essential from the start of a project to align activities closely with the strategies of the participants, in this case, the Ministry of Education officials. Project personnel can create this alignment (1) by becoming involved in the planning that goes on at the national level and (2) by understanding clearly the full range of the Ministry of Education's other projects and the personnel who are implementing them to avoid overlap and conflict. In other words, it is not enough for a project to identify needs and implement solutions. Project activities must be aligned with Ministry plans and integrated into already existing institutional frameworks. GEA in Guatemala, at first, also had difficulty convincing the MOE of the importance of its activities. Only later, when teachers became convinced of their value, was GEA able to persuade the Ministry to adopt them.

The Peru participants believe that although the EIC is a start, the broader problem of discrimination against women at all levels of the schooling system must be addressed. More openness about these

issues is needed in national-level planning discussions that address girls' participation. Specifically, they felt that classroom observation protocols written by experts needed to be rewritten to make them understandable and useful to teachers, and they felt that teachers would benefit from exchanges with teachers in other schools to discuss gender issues and other values that affect the classroom.

Summary of Lessons Learned From Classroom Participation Activities

1. Involve the participants from the start in the development of their own program materials, training, and protocols.
2. Take country context into more careful consideration both in providing generic training models and in negotiating a place for activities within MOE planning.
3. Look for allies and other like-minded organizations so that project synergies can reinforce one another rather than conflict.
4. Encourage teacher exchanges among schools to share experiences and improve understanding of educational issues.
5. With the MOE, develop a strategic plan to give more control and responsibility for children's learning to the classroom teacher.
6. With the MOE, create a mechanism to ensure quality control in the classroom (i.e., to ensure that children learn what they are supposed to learn in a child-friendly environment). As diagnostic tools, observation protocols and competency testing can help teachers improve their teaching and can help managers provide the right mix of inputs to ensure results.
7. Bilingual teaching in some contexts (Peru) may encourages girls to do better academically and convince parents to keep them in school; bilingual courses especially need interactive teaching techniques. In Guatemala, however, parents prefer that their children learn Spanish, the national language.
8. The community needs to be involved in suggesting what should be included in the school curriculum to make it more relevant for rural children.
9. Although interactive teaching methods may make learning more interesting, they need to be combined with better quality instructional materials, or students will not learn all that they need to know.

Findings and Conclusions About Lessons Learned

GEA provided a testing ground for the viability of a particular development framework and the approaches it generated in three very different country contexts. This section has three parts, all based on lessons learned from the Girls' Education Activity:

- Lessons learned about the effectiveness of the GEA framework in supporting girls' education
- Lessons learned that reinforce the truisms of development
- Lessons learned that refine what we know about development

As in the first sections of this report, most of the comments are based on or derived from the participants' discussions at the GEA Conference on Lessons Learned in August 2001.

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE GEA FRAMEWORK IN SUPPORTING GIRLS' EDUCATION

The GEA framework had both positive and negative aspects from the perspective of the participants. On the one hand, conferences, networks, and media campaigns appear to have been useful in mobilizing support for girls' education from a range of private and public sector organizations. Most would probably agree that the project increased awareness of the importance of educating girls, generated additional resources for the effort, and substantially strengthened the institutional base prepared to deal with girls' issues in the participating countries. As one participant noted, "The model spurred us on to make our work better."

On the other hand, participants also raised concerns about potential weaknesses in the framework. Can a person such as a GEA coordinator in a position external to the country's institutions play a leadership role in girls' education as effectively as local and national leaders? One obvious limitation is the time it takes for such a person to develop trust and break down resistance to the involvement of an outsider (even when that person is a national). Similarly, can a project requiring approvals from outside the country initiate activities that are truly appropriate to the context in the country where it takes place? This hurdle would not have been so large if the model had been more flexible and open

to change. One difficulty that loomed large for contractors was reconciling the expectations of USAID/Washington with those of the country Missions, making it difficult to mount activities that both could accept.

Once the coordinator positions were created, did the coordinators have enough resources at their disposal to carry out the complicated tasks they were asked to perform at national, regional, and local levels or with the range of stakeholders they were supposed to involve? With limited resources for program implementation, what incentives did the coordinators have to encourage independent initiatives? And with modest resources for support staff, how could they actively pursue GEA goals while keeping up with the demands from headquarters to document the projects, account for financial resources, host visitors, and report on multiple levels? Compounding their tasks was the concern that reporting requirements were so extensive that reporting responsibilities often superseded project work. Defenders of the framework could argue that the limited resources forced local groups to develop their own enabling capacities and resources—and in some cases this was probably true. It seems clear, however, that local groups might have accomplished more if GEA had been able to provide them with small amounts of funding to "seed" their projects.

A related criticism was that the GEA model reflects a set of long-term goals for systemic change, which necessitates more than the five years of the project to accomplish. Such activities as building networks, creating awareness, changing norms and, in many cases, mobilizing others to implement grassroots activities may only be started in a five-year time frame. Leveraging the resources and skills of others not only is time-consuming but also means accommodating their organizations' other priorities and activities. Defenders might again claim that the project was aimed at developing the enabling mechanisms to achieve the expected outcomes—and that the outcomes themselves were only the indirect responsibility of the coordinator. Some participants had experienced the fragility of a model that required public and private sectors to work together because of their traditional distrust of each other; much time was spent in resolving their inherent conflicts. Others believed that overcoming these problems might lead to a stronger society with greater capability to solve its own problems.

Several participants believed that the pressures to achieve results over broad areas caused them to attempt too much. Some felt that there should have been more focus on local networks, especially those achieving results in areas where the problems were greatest. Morocco's project felt that it had been overly ambitious by attempting too many activities and depending too heavily on a limited number of volunteers with competing demands on their time. They believed that it might have been better to start with a smaller number of schools and create a tested model for expansion.

Some participants also expressed frustration at the slowness and expense of pilot activities that might never be adopted at the regional and national levels. They wondered whether these activities were useful if they were not going to be taken to scale later. They suggested that to assume that good ideas would be taken up, fostered, and funded by local institutions without substantial outside support ignored the realities of funding in poor countries.

In summary, GEA was criticized as a framework by the participants even while they admitted that a number of positive developments had come from the project. Creating an entity outside local institutions to coordinate local efforts, even when staffed by local people, weakens the long-term prospects of such a project. The short time frame of GEA made it difficult to build the trust necessary to mount and sustain local initiatives, especially without substantial funding. However, some initiatives were successful even under these difficult conditions. It may be too soon to assess GEA's true advantages and disadvantages in sustaining the increased participation of girls.

REINFORCING THE TRUISMS OF DEVELOPMENT

Many of the lessons learned in the foregoing case studies reinforce recommendations that are already well established in the development literature, such as the following principles:

- There are no simple solutions to solving the problems of girls' education; the reasons for nonparticipation are many, and solutions require multiple approaches.
- Process models come closest to being fairly generalizable to different contexts as long as they are adapted to local conditions and attention is paid to their systemic nature—everything affects everything else.
- Synergies can increase results if girls' education is addressed at multiple levels—national, regional, and local—through the support of various sectors. Certainly the effects will be greater if these levels and sectors are involved than if some are ignored or their activities are not well integrated.
- Context sets important limits on what can be done, how it can be done, and who can do it.
- Information is key to identifying problems, shaping solutions, and monitoring results. Without it, informed reflection is not possible, and results are likely to be compromised.
- People need to be involved in decisions about their development if they are to own solutions to their problems.
- Sometimes girls' education can best be addressed in terms of education for all rather than as education for only one group.

REFINING WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

GEA has also suggested refinements in our knowledge of development processes through lessons learned about its specific activities. Although stated here in terms of GEA activities, these conditions are often found in other projects. The points include the following:

- Intermediate results tend to be confused with final results. Even when project objectives are clearly defined in project documents, implementers often confuse intermediate or milestone events with final results; they assume but do not confirm a relationship between the two (e.g., do girls actually stay in school and learn more when there is a teaching manual developed by teachers, or are these results simply assumed out of enthusiasm for the manual?).

- Putting in place enabling conditions for results may in the long run be more productive than trying to achieve limited results quickly without these conditions. Though enabling conditions often take longer to establish, once in place they may produce continuing results over the long term without much additional support (e.g., changing norms or attitudes or developing effective networks may create an environment for permanently effecting changes in girls' participation). The dilemma is that enabling structures may not always be easily identified or measured; we cannot be sure until it becomes apparent that these structures will lead inevitably to the results that we want. When they do not, the efforts to install them can be a waste of resources.

- Technical assistance needs to be appropriate and proportionate to the task and presented so that expertise can be sustained locally after the expert is gone. More time and thought need to be invested in how to provide technical assistance to make it more useful.

- Past and present project experience is not communicated as effectively as it should be. Mistakes might be avoided with better access to accumulated wisdom. More effort needs to be made to distill accumulated knowledge and exchange practical experience, rather than simply describe project activities, among participants in projects with similar objectives.

- Monitoring and evaluation focus almost exclusively on intermediate and strategic results and tend to ignore useful formative evaluation. Formative types of evaluation help implementers understand how to shape and correct components during the course of the project. These evaluations not only are less costly in resources, but also can help improve results and provide participants with information to reflect on larger issues, such as the viability of alternative options.

- The bottom-line need in projects is for more reflection and less pressure to undertake activities until the most productive approaches are worked out. An important part of what

needs to be reflected on (besides the effectiveness of approaches) are the issues of scale and sustainability.

- Participation of stakeholders is essential to build the skills and understanding needed to refine and improve future initiatives, as well as to create ownership and enhance the likelihood of sustainability. Those who have not been involved in decision making about project design, program development, and implementation and maintenance of activities have difficulty understanding the rationale for specific approaches and goals and, therefore, have difficulty improving them.
- Because of their considerable cost, conferences and media campaigns need a cost-benefit analysis to compare other uses for resources. Although they appear in GEA to have been a useful way of increasing awareness and mobilizing diverse groups, there may be a point of diminishing returns. One issue to determine is the extent to which rhetoric is translated into actions as a result of these events.
- Materials that capture the experience of project initiatives make it more likely, although not guaranteed, that these initiatives can be cost-effectively replicated and sustained when project funding ceases. Networks of relevant organizations need periodic review and, if necessary, reorganization to keep members interested and active. These networks are useful as a way of drawing on the resources and expertise of local institutions, but they can become ineffective over time without active leadership and participation. They have the potential with their contacts and expertise to address new problems in this and other sectors.
- The sectors that are involved in support of girls' education need to be evaluated in each context to determine what they are likely to offer. The part that the religious sector played in GEA turned out to be highly variable—from providing a moral authority in one case (the Moroccan king's support) to offering passive acquiescence in others. The actual rejection of girls' education might be expected in other contexts.

Participant Suggestions for Future Support to Girls' Education in Participating Countries

The conference participants discussed the future of girls' education projects in their countries in terms of two types of activities: GEA initiatives that they would like to see continued and new activities that will be needed.

GUATEMALA

Continuation of GEA Activities in Guatemala

The Guatemalan participants would like to see the following actions occur:

- The dissemination of the "Sugerencias" materials should be coordinated with that of other materials, such as the social communication materials and the community manuals. Until now, there have been three largely separate efforts—social communications, classroom activities, and community participation. If integrated, they could more cost-effectively reach wider audiences by using the same trainers. (One might first ask: Are the purposes and audiences the same for the materials? Has the link been established between these materials and the intended outcomes?)
- Community activities and partnerships should be continued and expanded through sensitizing workshops based on the community participation manual. (Has the link been established between these activities and the intended girls' participation outcomes?)
- NGOs should be further engaged; through them, support should be provided for local improvement activities. (Has the link with objectives been established?)

Continuing Needs in Guatemala

In Guatemala, the government has recently signed Peace Accords that commit the MOE to educational reform and support for girls' education. However, the MOE lacks the resources to train teach-

ers to use new materials or to initiate new projects. The most important continuing needs in education to comply with the Peace Accords are literacy, curriculum reform, and bilingual education.

The participants noted that it is difficult to overcome the Mayan culture's segregation of the roles of boys and girls. Girls come to believe that they have a different and limited need for education. The gender gap is likely to persist as long as there are

- limited opportunities for girls to continue their studies (no access to schooling at higher stages or education that is too costly);
- limited income-generating economic activities for educated girls that are seen as a result of schooling; and
- remaining concerns about girls' safety.

Guatemala sees two domains needing future interventions: (1) schooling—meaning classrooms and institutions responsible for teacher training—and (2) local communities—through encouraging the participation of NGOs and communities in sensitizing workshops. A major theme through the discussions was the need to train people in communities and schools. A long-term strategy is needed to "get a generation or two of girls through junior high so they can pull their daughters through the system."

MOROCCO

Continuation of GEA Activities in Morocco

The Moroccan participants believe that the key needs for valuable GEA activities to continue are the following:

- Technical assistance should be ongoing.
- Support for organizations established or strengthened under GEA should continue, but they should have more freedom to make decisions that are based on the needs of the field.
- NGOs should be empowered to approach the private sector for support so that CSSF can move into other areas. Firms and individuals should have a variety of options beyond scholarships to which they can contribute, such as computer training for school children.
- The benefits of "demonstration" projects or their viable alternatives should expand to other regions where they are needed.

GEA was a complex project compressed into a short time frame, which gave insufficient time and resources to strategize and develop a vision for the work at different levels. The debate was long and

difficult, but now that girls' education has emerged as the pivotal issue in Morocco, it is important to build a transparent system with effective administration and the necessary management tools.

Three networks established during GEA still need strengthening on all levels, and their roles and responsibilities need to be better defined:

- The national network, involving the Ministry of National Education, banks, and companies, needs to develop the vision and institute the strategies to support girls' education. The challenge at this level is to coordinate all that goes on around the country.
- The regional level needs to institute a monitoring system to coordinate national and local initiatives; the groups working at the regional level are the most likely to survive.
- The schools at the local level need to put in place individual action plans and specific strategies to support new education objectives; they should be assisted by parents, banks, and companies. This level has had the least time to become organized.

CSSF members believe that they have the enthusiasm, resources, and political power to bring the NGOs and other private and public sector organizations together in pursuit of solutions. (Al Jisr has been the stimulus keeping the private sector involved until now.) CSSF needs to develop clear messages about girls' education and what needs to be done so that it can sell GEA ideas to new organizations.

Continuing Needs in Morocco

The two main needs are to

- retain girls through all schooling levels, including secondary; and
- improve the quality of academic programs because "quality is the key to retention."

Until now, the MNE has focused on the primary level of education. This level still needs work, but Morocco also needs a vision and a strategy to encourage girls to continue their schooling through the secondary level. Part of the strategy is a major need to improve the quality of schooling programs at all levels. The challenge of quality is to identify the country's education objectives and to take actions to mobilize resources to achieve them. If strengthened further, the networks can solve these and other problems as they arise.

The privately funded scholarship program should be thought of as a temporary initiative to demonstrate that it is possible to retain girls through the transition to middle school. The cost of extending this program to all villages is prohibitive; therefore, other solutions are needed. The message needs to be conveyed that girls should continue at all levels of education, and the government should take

more responsibility by creating schools close to communities and providing scholarships for higher levels of education as necessary.

In summary, Morocco believes that its future needs are to

- expand GEA activities to other regions;
- continue to build and strengthen NGO capacity and coordination;
- sell the objectives, mechanisms, and results of GEA more widely;
- develop a clear message of what the issues are and what can be done;
- keep government officials informed when there is turnover;
- provide advocacy and technical assistance for the Ministry;
- encourage people to take charge of their own development; and
- support already existing organizations and give them freedom to make decisions.

PERU

Continuation of GEA Activities in Peru

Peru participants would like to see a continuation of several GEA activities but with the following enhancements:

- Networks need to be strengthened at the national and local levels; they will be essential in enforcing the new law on rural girls' education. The most effective networks and those working in the poorest regions deserve the most support.
- The GEA coordination team needs to be larger; one person is not enough to handle a complex activity and to reflect on strategies and results.
- More attention needs to be given to the quality of schooling programs, to content as well as to methods.
- Pilot programs are good, but there also needs to be capacity to expand good ideas. Several components can be integrated into this framework with gender as the main cross-cutting theme. The MOE should lead and USAID assist this effort.
- More information is needed to improve GEA where it has faced problems or where the solutions were not clear.

- Conferences need to be continued to motivate and bring people together and to provide a forum for exchanging information.
- The EIC program needs more demonstration schools and exchanges of information through networks. These were set up by the MOE but need strengthening.

Continuing Needs in Peru

Three and a half years were thought to be insufficient to make substantial progress in girls' education in Peru. To consolidate the gains that have been made, more needs to be done to strengthen bilingual and intercultural education, community participation, and the consolidation of gains related to decentralization at the departmental level.

It was suggested that a national body could be established with little cost to continue advocating for girls' education and to take a leadership role. The objective would be to bring people together in conferences and meetings to increase awareness, to gather information and coordinate activities, to recruit partners to contribute to the effort, to carry out routine monitoring and evaluation, and to use the media, where needed, to promote program activities. This group would provide a platform within its membership organizations for launching specific identified projects.

Some of the points concerning future needs include the following:

- Although gender issues and goals are important, a way is needed to implement solutions without causing a backlash.
- Large-scale advocacy activities need to be integrated with monitoring by local committees to ensure that the objectives of both are met.
- Planning should be concerned from the start with how the efforts will be sustained.
- More assistance should be directed toward NGO efforts to reform the departmental level for a broader effect.
- Emerging themes requiring assistance and integration into the program include bilingual education, early pregnancy, reproductive health, and violence against women.

In summary, Peru would like to see the following activities continue:

- Expanding rural girls' education
- Strengthening existing networks in support of girls' education

- Monitoring the implementation of the new law on rural girls' education
- Providing technical assistance to strengthen Peru's efforts
- Keeping equity as a main cross-cutting theme
- Establishing demonstration schools
- Involving citizens in local monitoring activities

Peru would like to see the following activities start in the future:

- Consideration of a scholarship program
- Closer relations with the private sector
- Bicultural and intercultural education in schools
- Studies to clarify understanding of girls' education issues and solutions
- Reproductive health programs
- Focused statistics that pinpoint the continuing problems of girls' enrollment and attendance by subgroups
- Literacy programs and education for adolescents

Suggestions Derived From Lessons Learned for Future Assistance in Support of Girls' Education

For USAID and other donor groups, the experiences of GEA suggest important considerations for any new project:

- Consider supporting a group or individuals within (instead of outside) local institutional structures to pursue the goals of girls' education. Provide limited funding for initiatives of these reform agents when milestone objectives are reached.
- Balance the concerns of process and outcome. Essential processes need to be institutionalized and routinized until they become automatic practices; the design of activities should never lose sight of the outcomes they are expected to produce.
- Provide special incentive funds to demonstrate sustainable initiatives that increase girls' participation.
- Involve nationals in planning new proposals. Recognize the need for in-country groups to follow divergent paths and allow them to do so. Create an environment in which evidence-based decisions are respected.
- State as an overarching principle of new projects the importance of involving those who will ultimately use the innovations in their creation and dissemination, which makes it more likely that they will be used, sustained, and, most important, developed further.
- Anticipate the need for adjustments and mid-course corrections, and provide enough flexibility to take advantage of opportunities that arise.
- Strengthen the capacity of organizations to conduct and pay for small, focused, formative (initiative-shaping and correcting) assessments throughout the life of projects.
- Recognize the importance of taking time to reflect on the vision, the strategies, and the evidence of project progress to ensure the best results possible. It may be necessary at first to

designate a time and a place where this reflection can occur. Structure times for participants from different countries to exchange practical information about their solutions to girls' issues. Create an environment where candid discussion is encouraged.

- Provide resources to collect the experience of successful project initiatives in manuals and other practical forms so that initiatives can be cost-effectively replicated and sustained and mistakes can be prevented.
- Continue to establish and strengthen networks of stakeholder organizations to leverage resources and skills in support of project objectives. This effort has the potential to create more realistic initiatives, increase the resource base, sustain the initiative into the future, and create further expertise to address new development problems.
- In a follow-on project, shift the emphasis from supporting national networks to supporting regional and local networks that were just beginning to organize during GEA.
- Establish realistic expectations for and measures of project results. For example, measure results among populations where project activities could have had an effect (the people who attended sensitizing workshops or heard radio programs with social messages) and not in the country as a whole. Use trend analysis to eliminate the results that would have occurred anyway and predict reasonable future results once enabling features are in place.
- Consider whether demonstration activities have a chance of being expanded or sustained. If the chance is slim, try alternative programs with more potential to make a substantial impact.
- A one-time "perfect" outcome is less important than the institutionalized capacity for continuing correction over time on the basis of established information.

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